

JUL 22 2011

David Madore, Chair NoTolls.com 1400 NE 136<sup>th</sup> Avenue Vancouver, WA 98664

Re: MUR 6448

Dear Mr. Madore:

On January 4, 2011, the Federal Election Commission notified NoTolls.com of a complaint alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). A copy of the complaint was forwarded to NoTolls.com at that time.

Upon further review of the allegations contained in the complaint, the available information, and NoTolls.com's response, on July 19, 2011, the Commission found no reason to believe that NoTolls.com violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 433(a), 434(a), or 441a(f), or 441d(a) regarding its website. The Commission also voted to dismiss the allegations that NoTolls.com violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 441d(a) regarding its mailer and 434(c) with regard to its expenditures for the website and mailer. Accordingly, the Commission closed its file in the matter. The Factual and Legal Analysis, which more fully explains the Commission's decision, is enclosed for your information.

Based on the information before the Commission, it appears that NoTolls.com may have violated the disclaimer and reporting provisions under 2 U.S.C. §§ 441d(a) and 434(c) by failing to include a disclaimer on its mailer and failing to file the required independent expenditure report. The Commission cautions NoTolls.com to take steps to ensure that its conduct is in compliance with the Act and the Commission regulations.

Documents related to the case will be placed on the public record within 30 days. See Statement of Policy Regarding Disclosure of Closed Enforcement and Related Files, 68 Fed. Reg. 70426 (Dec. 18, 2003) and Statement of Policy Regarding Placing First General Counsel's Reports on the Public Record, 74 Fed. Reg. 66132 (Dec. 14, 2009).

MUR 6448 (NoTolls.com) David Madore, Chair Page 2

If you have any questions, please contact Shana M. Broussard, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 694-1650.

Sincerely,

Mark Allen

Much all

**Assistant General Counsel** 

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1 2	FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
3	FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS
4 5 6 7	RESPONDENT: NoTolls.com MUR 6448
8	I. GENERATION OF MATTER
10	This matter was generated by a complaint filed with the Federal Election Commission
11	("the Commission") by Alexander Stone. See 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(1).
12	II. <u>INTRODUCTION</u>
13 14	The complaint alleges that NoTolls.com ("NoTolls"), a state-registered committee not
15	registered with the Commission, violated the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as
16	amended ("the Act"), when it failed to register and file reports with the Commission despite
17	exceeding the statutory limits for political committee status through contributions received or
18	expenditures made for its website and a mailer that promoted two federal candidates. Complaint
19	at 1-2. In addition, the complaint alleges that NoTolls's website and mailer are independent
20	expenditures that did not include disclaimers compliant with the Act. Id. at 2. Finally, the
21	complaint alleges that NoTolls received excessive contributions. Id.
22	In its response, NoTolls asserts that it "never purposely campaigned for any federal
23	candidates," although it acknowledges that its website and mailer included two federal
24	candidates. See NoTolls Response at 1-2. NoTolls also asserts that it took remedial action prior

For the reasons discussed below, the Commission finds no reason to believe that NoTolls failed to register and file reports as a political committee or failed to include a disclaimer on its

threshold for political committee status by contributions received or expenditures made, nor did

it address the allegations that it was required to include a disclaimer on its website and mailer.

to the complaint. Id. NoTolls did not address the allegation that it exceeded the statutory

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- website. The Commission dismisses the allegations that NoTolls violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 441d(a)
- 2 and 434(c) by failing to include a complete disclaimer on its mailer and failing to report its
- 3 independent expenditures for its website and mailer, cautions NoTolls.com. See Heckler v.
- 4 Chaney, 470 U.S. 821 (1985).

# III. FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

## A. Factual Background

NoTolls is a Washington State-registered committee organized in July 2010 to oppose tolls and light rail transportation across the Columbia River by way of Interstate 5 and its state and local bypasses. The complaint included a screenshot of NoTolls's website and a copy of a mailer, herein referred to as "Columbia River." The website screenshot begins with a NoTolls.com logo and states "Your vote is urgently needed to stop permanent tolls on the I-205, SR-500, SR-14, I-84 and I-5 corridor." The site continues with the statement that "NoTolls.com proudly recommends these candidates...," and contains photographs of eighteen candidates with their names and elective offices sought. The first two candidates recommended are Dino Rossi, the Republican candidate for U.S. Senate from Washington State, and Jaime Herrera, the Republican candidate for U.S. Representative from Washington's 3<sup>rd</sup> Congressional District. NoTolls asserts that its campaign focused only on a local issue and explained that it solicited the position of all Democratic and Republican candidates on this issue, and when candidates responded, it posted the results. See NoTolls Response at 2. The "Columbia River" mailer is a three-page communication. The first page contains a drawing of a bridge with the words "We all agree...A new bridge across the Columbia River would be GREAT!! but..." The second page begins "NOT AT THIS CO\$T!!" The second page also contains a cartoon depiction of a bridge and light rail system with indicators addressing

- l potential toll collection points. On the same page at the bottom left it states "Re-elect
- 2 incumbents for more of the same OR Elect NEW LEADERSHIP to get us back on track. THE
- 3 CHOICE IS YOURS!" [emphasis in original]. The bottom right of this page states
- 4 "NoTolls.com proudly supports the following candidates...," and lists in four rows of various
- 5 fonts the names of 20 candidates. The first row, in bold, contains the first and last names of three
- 6 local candidates. The remaining rows contain the last names of seventeen candidates, the first
- 7 two of whom are Rossi and Herrera. The last page of the "Columbia River" mailer contains a
- 8 disclaimer, "Paid for by NoTolls.com" above NoTolls's return andress, and a postage paid
- 9 permit.

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NoTolls asserts that "[a]s soon as [it] recognized that there was an error regarding the

11 mailer, prior to Mr. Stone's complaint, [it] immediately stopped printing the mailer." See

NoTolls Response at 1. NoTolls asserts that it distributed the mailer within a "local district," not

state-wide or congressional district 3-wide, and that NoTolls properly disclosed its mailer to the

state disclosure commission. See id. NoTolls further asserts that it "pulled the radio ad

15 (promoting local candidates), then contacted the [Washington] Public Disclosure Commission

('PDC") immediately to report that [it] made an error and explained how it was rectified."

17 See id. NoTolls states that it reported to the PDC on October 20, 2010. See id. Finally,

NoTolls states that it did not attempt to violate any law or conceal any records. See id. at 2.

# B. Political Committee Status

Citing NoTolls's state disclosure reports, the complaint alleges that as of October 9,

21 2010, NoTolls met the threshold requirements for political committee status by receiving or

spending in excess of \$1,000 in connection with federal elections in support of federal candidates

The complaint in the instant matter was filed on December 27, 2010.

(MCFL), 479 U.S. 238, 262 (1986).

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l Dino Rossi and Jaime Herrera. See Complaint at 1-2. Under the Act, groups that trigger 2 political committee status are required to register with the Commission and publicly report all of 3 their receipts and disbursements. 2 U.S.C. §§ 433(a) and 434(a). The Act defines a "political 4 committee" as any committee, association, or other group of persons that receives 5 "contributions" or makes "expenditures" for the purpose of influencing a Federal election which 6 aggregate in excess of \$1,000 during a calendar year. 2 U.S.C. § 431(4)(A). The term 7 "contribution" is defined to include "any gift, subscription, loan, advance, or deposit of money or 8 anything of value made by any person for the purpose of influencing any election for Federal 9 office." 2 U.S.C. § 431(8)(A)(i). The term "expenditure" is defined to include "any purchase, 10 payment, distribution, loan, advance, deposit, or gift of money or anything of value, made by any 11 person for the purpose of influencing any election for Federal Office." 2 U.S.C. § 431(9)(A)(i). 12 An organization will not be considered a "political committee" unless its "major purpose is Federal campaign activity (i.e., the nomination or election of a Federal candidate)." Political 13 14 Committee Status: Supplemental Explanation and Justification, 72 Fed. Reg. 5595, 5597 (Feb. 7,

#### 1. NoTolls.com contributions received

The complaint alleges that during the 2010 election cycle, NoTolls received excessive and in-kind corporate contributions that it subsequently used to support two federal candidates.

See Complaint at 1-2. The available information provides that NoTolls received in excess of \$177,000 in total contributions during the 2010 election cycle. The majority of these funds were the result of cash and in-kind contributions from David Madore (approximately \$134,000 and

2007). See Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. I, 79 (1976); FEC v. Massachusetts Citizens for Life, Inc.

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- 1 \$25,000, respectively), and cash and in-kind contributions from U.S. Digital (approximately
- 2 \$14,000).<sup>2</sup>
- 3 Although NoTolls received in excess of \$1,000 from David Madore and U.S. Digital, the
- 4 available information does not suggest that NoTolls solicited funds for the purpose of
- 5 influencing federal elections. The complaint asserts that No Tolls's fundraising solicitations did
- 6 not inform donors that their contributions would be used in connection with federal elections,
- 7 although the complaint did not provide copies of any solioitations. See Complaint at 2. NoTolls
- 8 similarly did not provide a copy of any of its solicitations, but asserts that while its mailer
- 9 included two federal candidates, its conduct was limited to local district activity. See NoTolls
- 10 Response at 1. Based on the available information, it does not appear that NoTolls has satisfied
- 11 the statutory threshold for political committee status by receiving contributions for the purpose
- of influencing federal elections exceeding \$1,000. See 2 U.S.C. § 431(4)(A).

# 2. NoTolls.com expenditures made

The complaint alleges that NoTolls's website and "Columbia River" mailer advocate the election of two federal candidates. *See* Complaint at 1. The Act's definition of expenditure, when applied to communications made independently of a candidate or a candidate's committee, reaches only funds used for communications "expressly advocating the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate." 2 U.S.C. § 431(17). The Commission bas defined express advocacy in the regulations set forth at 11 C.F.R. § 100.22. Under Section 100.22(a),

Expressly advocating means any communication that – (a) uses phrases such as "vote for the President," "re-elect your Congressman," "support the Democratic nominee," "cast your ballot for the Republican challenger for U.S. Senate in

See Washington State Public Disclosure Commission,

http://www.pdc.wa.gov/qviewreports/results.aspx?rpt=http://hera.pdc.wa.gov/PublicAppXtender/ISubmitQuery.asp
x?DSN=IMAGE&AppName=PDC&FILER+NAME=NOTOLLS:COM\*&FORM+TYPE=List:%20%27C6%27,%27
C6%20AMENDED%27.

Georgia," "Smith for Congress," "Bill McKay in '94," "vote Pro-Life" or "vote Pro-Choice" accompanied by a listing of clearly identified candidates described as Pro-Life or Pro-Choice, "voto against Old Hickory," "defeat" accompanied by a picture of one of mere candidate(s), "reject the incumbent," or communications of campaign slogan(s), or individual word(s), which in context can have no other reasonable meaning than to urge the election or defeat of one or more clearly identified candidate(s), such as posters, bumper stickers, advertisements, etc. which say "Nixon's the One," "Carter '76," "Reagan/Bush" or "Mondale!"

11 C.F.R. § 100.22(a).

The website and mailer contain express advocacy under 11 C.F.R. § 100.22(a) because both refer to federal candidates Rossi and Herrera by name and contain language urging their election. The website stated that it "proudly recommends these candidates," and posted pictures of the two federal candidates and other state candidates, while the mailer stated that "NoTolls.com proudly supports the following candidates...," "Re-elect incumbents for more of the same OR Elect NEW LEADERSHIP to get us back on track. THE CHOICE IS YOURS!" [emphasis in original]. Accordingly, the disbursements NoTolls made for its website and mailer constitute expenditures under the Act that count toward the statutory threshold for political committee status.

The complaint alleges that NoTolls spent \$13,714.05 for the "Columbia River" mailer and \$10,963.76 for its website. See Complaint at 1-2. These figures correspond to the payments for postage, mail house services, and mailer printing for the mailer and website design, editing, and administration fees disclosed in NoTolls's state disclosure reports. According to the complaint, NoTolls exceeded the statutory threshold for expenditures made based on a per-

The website and "Columbia River" communication constitute express advocacy as dufined in Section 100.22(a); therefore, an analysis of the "Columbia River" communication under section 100.22(b) is unnecessary.

See

http://www.pdc.wa.gov/qviewreports/results.aspx?rpt=http://hera.pdc.wa.gov/PublicAppXtender/ISubmitQuery.aspx?DSN=IMAGE&AppName=PDC&FILER+NAME=NOTOLLS.COM\*&FORM+TYPE=List:%20%27C6%27,%27C6%20AMENDED%27.

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l candidate allocation of the total costs for the website and mailer. The complainant divided the

2 costs of the website by the 18 candidates promoted, concluding that NoTolls spent \$609.10

3 toward each candidate, and divided the total mailer costs by the 20 candidates promoted,

4 concluding that NoTolls spent \$685.70 toward each candidate. See Complaint at 1-2. However,

NoTolls disclosed in a Washington State reporting form for independent expenditures dated

6 October 28, 2010, that It attributed \$488 of the total independent expenditure expense for its

mailer to each federal candidate. The available information does not explain the difference

between the complaint's \$685.70 per-candidate allocation and NoTolls's \$488 per-candidate

allocations for the mailer. In any event, the total cost attributed to federal candidates on the

website is \$1,218.20 (\$609.10 x 2), and the total cost attributed to federal candidates in the

mailer is at least \$976 (\$488 x 2), for a grand total of at least \$2,194.20 in expenditures,

exceeding the \$1,000 statutory threshold for political committee status. See 2 U.S.C.

13 § 431(4)(A).

Although NoTolls appears to meet the statutory threshold for political committee status, it does not appear that its major purpose was "Federal campaign activity (i.e., the nomination or election of a Federal candidate)." See Political Committee Status: Supplemental Explanation and Justification, 72 Fed. Reg. at 5597. NoTolls's response and other available information indicate that NoTolls was formed to oppose tolls and light rail transportation for local infrastructure. In

See

http://www.pdc.wa.gov/qviewreports/results.aspx?rpt=http://hera.pdc.wa.gov/PublicAppXtender/ISubmitQuery.aspx?DSN=IMAGE&AppName=PDC&FILER+NAME=NOTOLLS.COM\*&FORM+TYPE=List:%20%27C6%27,%27C6%20AMENDED%27. NoTolls did not disclose its website as an independent expenditure.

Overall, the principle of allocating the overall costs of the mailer between the federal and non-federal candidates is consistent with the Commission's regulations regarding the allocation of expenses between candidates. See 11 C.F.R. § 106.1(a). The Commission has no information regardling how NoTolls allocated its expenses. It is possible that it attributed a per-candidate cost based upon the placement and font size of the candidate's name. The two federal candidates included on the subject mailer were listed on the second that with a font size smaller than the first group, but larger than a third group of candidates. In addition, only the first tier contained the candidates' first and last names.

1 its response, NoTolls asserts that its "campaign was specific to local candidates." See NoTolls

2 Response at 2. Only two of the eighteen candidates promoted on NoTolls's website were federal

3 candidates and only two of the 20 candidates promoted in NoTolls's mailer were federal

4 candidates. While NoTolls acknowledges including two federal candidates on its website and

mailer, it insists that it "never officially campaigned" for Rossi and Herrera because its mailers

were only sent to a local district. See NoTolls Response at 1. As such, the available information

indicates that the foaus of NoTells's activities related to a local issue regarding tolls, not the

8 election of federal candidates. Accordingly, the Commission finds no reason to believe that

NoTolls.com violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 433(a) or 434(a) by failing to register and report as a political

10 committee.

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#### C. Disclaimers

The complaint alleges that NoTolls's website and its "Columbia River" mailer did not include the required disclaimers. See Complaint at 2. All public communications made by a political committee and all Internet websites of political committees available to the general public must include disclaimers. See 2 U.S.C. § 441d(a); 11 C.F.R. § 110.11(a)(1). Any person that makes a disbursement for a public communication that expressly advocates the election of a clearly identified candidate must include a disclaimer that confirms to the requirements in 2 U.S.C. § 441d(a) and 11 C.F.R. § 110.11(a)-(c). Public communications include any mass mailing to the general public or any other form of general public political advertising. 11 C.F.R. § 100.26. Mass mailing is defined as a mailing by U.S. mail or facsimile of more than 500 pieces of mail matter of an identical or substantially similar nature within any 30-day period. 2 U.S.C. § 431(23); 11 C.F.R. § 100.27.

l NoTolls's "Columbia River" mailer expressly advocated the election of federal 2 candidates Rossi and Herrera. See 11 C.F.R. §§ 100.22(a). According to NoTolls's state 3 disclosure reports, it spent a total of \$13,714.05 for the mailer, of which it spent \$7,729,92 for 4 postage. Thus, it is reasonable to conclude NoTolls distributed more than 500 copies of the 5 mailer. See 11 C.F.R. § 100.27. Accordingly, the disclaimer provisions of the Act apply. See 6 2 U.S.C. § 441d(a)(1)-(3); 11 C.F.R. § 110.11(a)-(c). The mailer contains a disclaimer in the 7 return address, which states "Paid fdr by NoTolls.com" and contains a street address. However, 8 the mailer does not state whether the communication was authorized by any federal candidate or 9 candidate's committee. See 2 U.S.C. § 441d(a): 11 C.F.R. § 110.11(b). Therefore, it appears 10 that NoTolls's "Columbia River" mailer does not satisfy the disclaimer requirements in the Act; 11 thus, NoTolls appears to have violated 2 U.S.C. § 441d(a).

As for NoTolls's website, it too expressly advocates the election of federal candidates Rossi and Herrera. See 11 C.F.R. § 100.22(a). However, because the Commission concludes that NoTolls is not a political committee under the Act, and its website does not meet the definition of a public communication, the disclaimer provisions do not apply to the website. See 2 U.S.C. § 441d(a); 11 C.F.R. §§ 110.11(a) and 100.26. Accordingly, the Commission finds no reason to believe that NoTolls violated 2 U.S.C. § 441d(a) by failing to include a disclaimer on its website.

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In addition, the disclaimer information is not contained in a printed box. See 2 U.S.C. § 441d(c)(2); 11 C.F.R. § 110.11(c)(2)(ii).

# D. Independent Expenditure Reporting

The complaint alleges that the NoTolls's "Columbia River" mailer and website are independent expenditures. See Complaint at 2. An independent expenditure is an expenditure by a person expressly advocating the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate and that is not made in concert or cooperation with or at the request or suggestion of such candidate, the candidate's authorized political committee, or their agents, or a political party committee or its agents. 2 U.S.C. § 431(17); 11 C.F.R. § 100.16. Under the Act, every person other than a political committee who makes independent expenditures in excess of \$250 must file a report that discloses information regarding its expenditures and identifies each person who made a contribution in excess of \$200 for the purpose of furthering an independent expenditure.

2 U.S.C. § 434(c). The mailer and website expressly advocate the election of two clearly-identified federal candidates. See 11 C.F.R. § 100.22(a). NoTolls's state disclosure reports disclose that it spent \$13,714 and \$10,963.76 for the mailer and website, respectively, with an allocated federal expenditure portion of at least \$2,194.20. Therefore, it appears that NoTolls was required to file an independent expenditure report with the Commission, and thus appears to have violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(c).

# E. Alleged Excessive Contributions

Citing NoTolls's state disclosure reports, the complaint alleges that NoTolls accepted excessive contributions from David Madore totaling over \$134,000, and that NoTolls accepted contributions in excess of \$5,000 from U.S. Digital. *See* Complaint at 2; 2 U.S.C. §§ 441a(a)

There is an additional independent expenditure reporting requirement at 2 U.S.C. § 434(g) under which persons that make independent expenditures aggregating \$1,000 or more after the 20<sup>th</sup> day, but no more than 24 hours, before the date of an election, must file a report within 24 hours with the Commission describing the expenditure. NoTolls's state disclosure reports disclose that it made disbursements related to the "Columbia River" mailer on October 9, 2010, before the 20-day timeframe for section 434(g) reporting.

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- and 441a(f). Because NoTolls is not a federal political committee, it is not subject to the Act's
- 2 contribution limits. Accordingly, the Commission finds no reason to believe that NoTolls.com
- 3 violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f) by receiving excessive contributions.

# F. Conclusion

- It appears that NoTolls violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 441d(a) and 434(c) by failing to include a
- 6 complete disclaimer on its "Columbia River" mailer and failing to file an independent
- 7 expenditure roport for its mailer and website. Considering the small federal share of the amount
- 8 in violation, pursuit of this matter would not merit the further use of Commission resources.
- 9 Accordingly, the Commission exercises its prosecutorial discretion and dismisses the allegations
- that NoTolls violated 2 U.S.C. § 441d(a) by failing to include a disclaimer on its mailer and
- 2 U.S.C. § 434(c) by failing to file the required independent expenditure report, and cautions
- 12 NoTolls.com. See Heckler v. Chaney, 470 U.S. 821 (1985).